1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

121 and political connections," with nation-oriented persons who operate at a national socio-cultural level of integration (1956:1075-1076).

Clifford Geertz (1960) has also examined the role of a "cultural broker" in Indonesia as an instance of "a vigorous, imaginative regional leadership, able to play a cultural middleman role between peasant and metropolitan life, and so create an effective juncture between traditional cultural patterns and modern ones" (1960:229). In the case of the Mexican "broker" described by Wolf, the major means of consolidating and obtaining power both at the regional and the national levels were through political channels. In the case of the Indonesian "broker," both religious and political channels are the means by which the local Muslim teacher, or kijaji, has obtained power: traditionally, he was a specialist in communication of Islam to the countryside, and today he has taken on the role of local party leader (Geertz 1960:230).

121 554 629 • 557 In al-Qasr, the rajal khair seems to be the Bedouin counterpart of the Mexican and Indonesian "broker." With a firm economic base in the local community, and with his ability to adopt new patterns of public behavior, i.e., "he knows how to speak to the Governor and public officials," the role of rajal khair provides the means for one to move upwards through political channels (Wolf 1956:1071). Within the context of a newly emerging authority system based upon the

121 554 627 557 structural principle of bureaucracy, the rajal khair lacking legitimacy in the traditional lineage-based system may envisage an authoritative role and increased chances to "improve his status through the judicious manipulation of social ties."

121 554 178 Leadership studies in the context of cultural change, such as those which deal with "broker" types, have important implications for a more general and fundamental theoretical problem: the role of the individual in culture and society. Radin, as early as 1927, Redfield (1960), Geertz (1960), Fallers (1964), and Mead (1964) have spoken of "primitive philosophers," "the hinge group," "the cultural brokers," "the new men," and "the evolutionary clusters." All terms have direct reference to role types constructed from the observation of individuals possessed of the ability and creativity to offer new ideas and methods of dealing with the pressing cultural problems of their times. The unitary goal of all these researchers was to understand culture change through a focus on the way in which the individual manipulates his cultural resources.

121 I would maintain that, especially in political analysis, the approach and focus of the researcher is directly related to his ontologic position concerning the concepts of culture and human nature. That is to say, whether or not the researcher believes that "man has no choice in life, that culture determines his behavior," then he will or will not find it relevant

582 to their nephews if the latter demanded "because it is the right of
124 the girl's cousin." And all but two said they would ask the permission of the girl's cousin before marrying her to an outsider, even if they knew that the nephew had no intention of marrying her himself, "to prevent the development of difficulties in the future."

On the other hand, when the same group was asked, "If you had your choice, would you rather marry your cousin or another woman who was wealthier or more beautiful," they answered as follows:

Marry their cousin	11
Marry someone else	24
Total	35

Two reasons were given by the eleven who chose to marry their cousins. The first is that they knew more about the temperament and the moral character of their cousin than about the other woman no matter how beautiful or wealthy she might be. Four of the eleven respondents said they would like to marry their cousin because they could not afford to pay the high bridewealth for a distant relative or an outsider. Although the sample I selected was by no means representative of the total tribal population in the area, yet, it points at least to the fact that parallel cousin marriage is considered by the father of the girl more as a duty or obligation than a choice, while from the standpoint of the suitor, it is viewed as a right which he can invoke at will.

582 It seems that many invoke such a right even when they have no serious
557 intention of marrying their bint'amm. The purpose apparent in the numerous cases where this happened was to obtain money from the prospective groom who has to get the approval of the cousin to prevent trouble. In some cases the man invokes his right to force his uncle or the groom to concede to some demands, such as the sale of the right to use a piece

582 557 of parley land or a well or to make him a partner in a business or smuggling activities or even as revenge on his uncle by keeping his daughters unmarried. In 1961 the heads of 25 prominant baits of various tribes in the area of Matruh met and decided that the right of ibn 'amm had become a major problem, and that invoking that right when the man had no intention of marrying the girl had resulted in a number of disputes that became serious over a period of time. They felt that the time was suitable to revise that right and make it subject to the concept of fair behavior applicable to other rights. They wrote a new rule which specifies that the man has the right to prevent his cousin from marrying an outsider or a more distant relative only if he himself intends to marry her either in the present or in the reasonable future. If the circumstances show that he cannot do so, then he forfeits the right.

[558] [681] To prevent his cousin from marrying another man without a proven intention on the part of the man to marry her himself in the foreseeable future, is considered as an unreasonable behavior for which ibn 'amm could be liable to pay kabara to his uncle as well as to the prospective groom. It also denies him the right of taking her away from [583] her marital residence by force. If he does this, he would be liable to the compensation for assault. The agreement was signed by the awaqil and is considered binding as far as the baits they represented are concerned. Other tribal segments in the area refuse to abide by the agreement and consider it as a pretentious departure from the ways of Awlad Ali which should not be encouraged. Even within the tribal segments involved in the agreement, there have been reports of individuals who refused to [629] abide by the agreement. In certain of these latter cases, the ibn 'amm selected as his mardi a member of a tribal segment not involved in the agreement and therefore not morally bound to abide by its contents.

593 went to see Muftah and his company. Half an hour later the religious
594 man came and took Hemeida aside and talked to him in a very low voice,
606 then left the tent again. A few minutes more had passed; everyone re-
586 turned to the tent; Muftah was not angry anymore. The religious man
627 read the fatha, or the beginning sura of the Koraan, then said that the
792 souls were now pure and that Hemeida was considered as a son of Muftah
[999] and that disagreements such as this should not alter the good relations between the two. He said that the devil had found his way into the souls of the two people, but now, thanks to God and the good people present, they both had come back to their senses. Hemeida then rose and went to where his father-in-law was sitting and shook hands with him. Then he
[81] handed the religious man ten pounds which the latter passed to Muftah and promised to send him a goat as a gift to his daughter. Muftah left the tent and went to the tent of the women. When he came back he announced that a goat had been slaughtered and that everyone was invited to eat. Everybody then left and Muftah promised to return his daughter to her husband the following day.

593 While the right of the father to take his daughter away from her
606 husband constitutes a check on the authority of the latter and insures
557 the wife good treatment by her husband and her in-laws, not infrequently
586 that right has been invoked for personal or individual interest on the
[429] part of the woman's father or her closest male kin. Several cases have been cited in the area where the father or guardian had invoked the right to force the husband to concede to certain demands of the wife's guardian, even when the wife objected to those demands or disagreed with her guardian. One of these is the case of Mabroka who is married to a distant

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member of the same tribe. At the time that the dispute had occurred she had been married for fifteen years and had four children ranging in age from thirteen to two years. The husband possessed a piece of land on the coast where a few olive and fig trees were growing. The husband, Mukheimer, made no use of either the land or the trees. Then, in 1966, the father became employed by the government organization in the area where his daughter and her husband lived and where the land was. He asked his son-in-law to give him the right to use the land for one pound a year. Mukheimer, who at that time worked part-time for the same government organization as a driver, refused. The reason was that his job with the government made it possible for him to apply for a power pump to be installed over the Roman well that existed on the land, and he intended to utilize the land himself. All attempts to convince Hukheimer to let him use the land failed. Then one day Mukheimer came back to his tent to find that his father-in-law had taken his wife and the youngest child and left the other three children with the second wife. The father-in-law told the second wife to inform Mukheimer that if he wanted his wife and child back, he had to think about the land he wanted to take possession of. Mukheimer tried to discuss the matter with his father-in-law, buth the latter refused to see him. After a month there were rumors that the daughter was not happy that her father had taken her away from her husband and children and that she wanted to go back to her family. She asked a number of people to help her, including myself, since her father was one of my informants at that time; but he insisted that the only way Mukheimer could have his wife and child back was by giving him the rights to the land. Mukheimer, on the other hand, threatened to divorce his wife and marry another woman if his father-in-law did not return his wife.

593 606 557 586 [114] The case persisted for more than two months with no sign that either party was willing to give into the demands of the other. I left the area before any solution to the case was achieved.

584 578 606 [574] Another relevant case is one which involved a dispute between Hassan Hassanein from the Sanagrah tribe and the father-in-law of his daughter who was also from the same tribe and who lived in the same area. The case started when Hassanein was visited by a friend from the Zsheibat tribe in Matruh, an old man of 60 or 70 years. During the night that this guest spent at Hassanein's house, they got to talking about marriage and the fact that although his guest was a wealthy and respected man, he had only one wife. After a lengthy talk, it seemed that the old man was convinced that he should have a second wife and asked Hassanein if he knew of a suitable girl to marry. Hassanein suggested his daughter's sister-in-law. Hassanein took the prospective groom to the tent of his daughter's father-in-law and discussed the matter with the father of the prospective bride who agreed to marry his daughter to Hassanein's guest if he paid the sume of 200 pounds, in addition to slaughtering a number of goats and presenting him with the appropriate presents. When the man agreed to the terms, the fatha was read to signify the agreement between the two parties. Hassanein left the man to spend the night in the camp of his future in-laws. In the morning the groom told the bride's father that he must go to nearby Alexandria to bring the money for the bride price. When he came back late that afternoon, he paid the money and set a date for the wedding the next Thursday and then left for Matruh to prepare for the arrival of the new wife.

584 583 578 606 [575] [577]

membership of associations and so on. The statuses a Bedouin achieves depend not on an ordered acquisition through the inheritance of roles or election to them, but on his personal manipulation of linkages in his jockeying with others. Rites are minimal because there are few defined statuses an individual can predictably acquire. The equalitarianism of the desert denudes the Bedouin of ritual riches. Complimentarily, rites which do occur are thrown into exaggerated relief by the absence of others, and in their isolation, become not merely a "passage" but a cataclysmic change. Marriage and burial both comprehend limited fields of relations, but accompanying ceremonies may bring several hundred people together, people who otherwise rarely gather in these numbers to meet one another as kinsmen and neighbours, and it is suggested that the emphasis given to the events dramatises the significance of the changes they produce. In the discussion of the changes brought about by marriage, the Bedouin view of what is entailed will be considered first.

The Bedouin View of Marriage

After marriage, the Bedouin argue, a son has a tent of his own, a woman over whom he has authority and soon children to make him a father. Marriage causes split, branching. A new family is created, holding the potential of a new lineage. The separation is so painful a matter for the father that he cannot contemplate it, hence his pretence that he has no knowledge of wedding festivities, and his subsequent attitude that nothing has happened.

Interestingly, there are two other occasions when this attitude is to be observed. When a man kills within his corporate group,[8] he may flee his tribe or he may be compelled to leave; later he is likely to return and, when he does, he is received with a minimum of show. Every attempt is made to suppress knowledge of the event.

Again, if incest occurs, the memory of it must somehow be suppressed, and it is an ever-present danger. Men, permitted four wives simultaneously and also able to engage in a plurality of marriages through divorce or death of spouses, may have children showing an age difference of two or three generations. Thus it comes about that a man may be of an age in relation to his father's sister which permits them as children to behave as if they were first paternal cousins. As an adult, the preferred spouse for a man is a father's brother's daughter. In terms of relationships between adolescents the situation in which a man is of the same age generation as his father's sister is fraught with danger. In one such case, between a man and his father's sister, the male child of the union was put out in the desert to be

[8] Bedouin are disposed in groups which, in summer, usually constitute a single community, around or near a watering point. The men of this group are interlinked by reference to an ancestor four or five ascending generations, reckoning from the generation of men of about 20 years. When, elsewhere in this chapter reference is made to corporations, it will be to groups of this kind.